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Alltagsgeschichte, Social Science History and the Study of Mundane Movements in 19th- century Germany⁽¹⁾

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Abstract: German residency registers have been used in a variety of ways to develop important insights into migration and its contribution to the development of an urban-industrial world. Because manuscript census data for the 19th century has not survived in central Europe except in limited areas, these registers will continue to provide a fundamental source for historical analysis, especially when linked with other documents such as employment records, marriage contracts, and vital records. Continuous residency registers present a unique opportunity to define more accurately the character and quality of German life during a period of fundamental social changes and to understand the degree to which ordinary people were able to actively shape their own destinies.

In the past several decades, the scope of European social history has been widened considerably by the increasing attention given to the historical experience of inarticulate, ordinary people. (2) Three questions have been central in the search to recover the texture of past lives: First, what is the character and quality of social life in the past? Second, what was the nature of structural change that transformed the arena in which common folk lived? What long-term environmental, economic, political, and intellectual processes were at work? And third, were these ordinary people invariably caught in the powerful undertow of such changes or was it possible for them at times to actively and creatively shape the development of social structures and processes? In their pursuit of answers to these questions, social historians on both sides of the Atlantic have imaginatively explored neglected sources. And, as might be expected in a vigorous and youthful field of inquiry, practitioners have energetically debated methodological issues.

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In recent years, social science historians who specialize in German history have been confronted by the challenges of *Alltagsgeschichte* - the history of ordinary events. (3) Using a methodology influenced by anthropology, practitioners of »every-day history« have utilized memoirs, letters, old photos and interviews with participant observers in order to evoke the past social life of select groups. These scholars have often reported their findings in vivid, detailed narratives in order to avoid forcing the multifaceted experience of ordinary folk into what these scholars consider arid statistical tables and reified constructs, dangers that particularly beset consumers of computer-generated crosstabulations and regression equations. In addition, advocates of »peoples' history« have attempted to make historical scholarship unambiguously relevant to contemporary issues by setting their research against a backdrop of current social and political controversy and by espousing »populist« social views.

Social science historians for their part have been quick to probe for the blemishes of *Alltagsgeschichte*. In their view, the first weakness of »every-day history« has been its inability to carry on a critical dialogue between evidence and the reigning paradigms of social transformation, whether from Marxist or modernization schools. Populist social perspectives on and dissident political attitudes toward late 20th-century technological society have precluded an even-handed analysis of the human consequences of large-scale change in the past two centuries because pre-industrial times have often been treated in a nostalgic, homogeneous manner. Second, a preoccupation with the minutiae of narrative has prevented historians of plebeian concerns from ascertaining the representativeness of their data and from determining the context of their findings. For social science historians, this debilitating antiquarianism has underscored clearly the necessity of accumulating systematic data about long-term social processes. Thus, the failure of social science historians and practitioners of »every-day« history to co-operate more closely in the effort to understand complex social processes is not only due to contrasting methodological biases but also to the distinctive documentation used by each group of scholars.

The study of geographical mobility illustrates many of these tensions and potentialities. Migration was a universal experience of ordinary Germans long before industrialization, a fact reflected in the attempts of »home towns« to defend their social integrity against vagabonds and paupers. (4) During the 19th century, mass population movement became commonplace as the ambitious, the desperate, and the restless abandoned their rural hamlets for the promises of the New World and the urban industrial complexes of Berlin, Silesia, and the Ruhr. (5) The outstanding features of 20th-century German migration have been the exchange of population due to post-war political settlements and the impact of guest workers from southern Europe. (6)

The analysis of these shifting migration patterns has depended primarily on the diligent study of published aggregate statistics. Social observers of the late 19th- and early 20th centuries investigated the ways in which migration enabled Germany to utilize new resources in agriculture and industry and to accommodate to shifting regional population growth rates, concluding that more Germans were in circulation between 1850 and 1914. Social critics, including Friedrich Engels, Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Friedrich Tönnies, and Gustav Schmoller, were not only interested in the demographic ebb and flow and its implications for the life of the nation and for social order; they were curious about the social adjustment of the individual migrant as well. Without any way to directly and systematically observe the behavior of individual migrants, they inferred that more aggregate movement translated into family destabilization, increased personal uprootedness and loss of psychic integrity. These powerful stereotypes of community and society are still influential in the form of modernization theory. (7)

Many of the contentions of this conventional wisdom can only be authenticated if the focus of migration research moves away from an examination of gross national patterns toward the experience of individual migrants. Accordingly, some migration scholars who take a quantitative approach have attempted to test the assertions of earlier social theories by utilizing published statistics and detailed archival data aggregated at the city or county level. (8) Although their efforts have uncovered a great variety of migration behavior, their findings have affirmed the general observation that migration was a major social force rearranging German society during industrialization and urbanization. Such an approach is not likely to satisfy the *Alltagshistoriker*, who have just begun their search for pungent testimony that would help recover migrants' personal experience. Building on the pioneering work of HsiHuey Liang on Berlin migrants, this quest will likely provide a helpful counterweight to a passive view of geographical mobility often embedded in the quantitative analysis of the »pushes« and »pulls« of population aggregates. (9) Such testimony can reveal not only the degree to which migrants' motivations diverged from their village neighbors who stayed behind but also illuminate contrasting experiences of adjustment to a bewildering urban-industrial world.

If the historiographic development of German migration studies emulates a pattern followed by investigations of social protest and the labor movement, however, the greatest danger to the emergence of a comprehensive picture of Germany's mobile masses is a bifurcation of the field between quantifiers and historians of the »every-day.« (10) To avoid such an unproductive split in the field, some migration scholars have begun to utilize complementary sources that can link the structural analysis of geographical mobility with an explication of vivid personal experience.

Nominative-level source material that systematically recorded a large number of individual residential moves and simultaneously provides access to group behavior has proved difficult to uncover for central Europe. Manuscript censuses have survived only in limited areas. Tax lists and housing surveys often are hard to find. Residency registers, on the other hand, can be found more easily and have the potential to provide a fundamental source for historical analysis, especially when linked with other documents such as employment records, marriage contracts, and vital records. This essay will examine the origins and character of continuous residency registers in Germany, discuss their accessibility, and their potential future use.

I

Not unexpectedly, statistical surveys like residency registers were shaped by the preoccupations of rulers of various German lands and their clerks. (11) Drawing their lessons from the years of bloody warfare that had engulfed Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, German kings, dukes and bureaucrats came to believe that political survival and expansion depended on control of national resources. These rulers were convinced that consistent support for a credible military force could be insured only by harnessing the productive powers of a territory through the development of an internally unified and self-sufficient economy. To fulfill this mandate, state bureaucrats throughout Germany needed accurate information concerning the productivity of agriculture, the strength of trade and commerce, and the vigor of the labor force. In Brandenburg, for example, state administrators produced a Directory of Subjects in 1654 that contained economic as well as demographic data. In 1683, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm ordered church officials to prepare *Populationlisten*, annual summaries of the demographic information recorded in their parish registers. By the middle of the next century, a broad range of manufacturing statistics were being collected and condensed in the *General-Fabrik-Tabellen*. On the whole, the results of such statistical surveys were considered state secrets and were not published.

German bureaucracies were not the only constituents of statistics before the turn of the 19th century. The utility of statistical surveys was clearly understood by prominent university professors who gained access to state numerical data and built an important part of their academic disciplines on their use. (12) In their lectures on state administration, geography, and currency development, they demonstrated how descriptive statistics could be used for the purposes of efficient public administration, social reform, and effective legislation. Another group of social observers, known as Po-

husche Arithmetiker, were also concerned about Statistical information gathered by bureaucrats. Led by Johann Süßmilch, these scholars searched vital statistics for laws governing social behavior and founded the discipline of demography in Germany. (13) Both university professors and social observers assisted state administrators by analyzing data, suggesting new areas in the life of the state that could be investigated and by uncovering the regularities that seemed to rule social life. One important result of this alliance of data analysts was the establishment of independent statistical agencies in Prussia(1805), Bavaria(1808), and Württemberg(1820).

During the first half of the 19th century, state statistical offices restricted themselves to the collection of information and left interpretation to others. But their focus was fundamentally changed in the 1830s and 1840s by the example of the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet and by the founding of the German Customs Union. Through his work on Belgian censuses and other surveys and by his essay on the regularities of social and economic life, Quetelet encouraged German statistical bureaus to unify the tasks of information collection and scholarly analysis, the results of which were published regularly. (14) The foundation of the German Customs Union, the Zollverein, also stimulated the development of official statistics. Not only was commerce with foreign countries monitored; uniform enumerations of member states became necessary because income from the Zollverein was distributed according to population.

The period of rapid social change after mid-century generated a demand by bureaucrats, academicians, demographers, and reformers for even more extensive and detailed information on social processes. These analysts needed reliable data that could be utilized to formulate concrete solutions to social problems they had identified, such as crime, suicide, pauperism, illiteracy, revolutionary political behavior, vagrancy, overcrowding, infant mortality, and a declining birth rate. Unfortunately, organizational constraints did not permit the collection of uniform statistics throughout Germany. Even with unification in 1871, statistical collection and publication remained fragmented, mirroring the combination of federal and unitary principles characteristic of the Second Empire. Central statistics were quite limited, consisting of work undertaken by the Imperial Statistical Bureau and focusing primarily on foreign commerce. Federal statistics, such as censuses, migration information, vital statistics, and economic data, were those collected by the separate states and arranged in uniform tables which were then transmitted to the Imperial office for publication. Special statistics consisted of data collected by individual states on their own initiative and without reference to the Empire. Finally, numerical data for large towns were kept by communal statistical offices. (15)

Thus, official statistics in Germany did not simply summarize the realities of the body politic but were the product of those same conditions.

Political choices that reflected the social, political, and economic concerns of the various constituencies for statistics were implicit in the decisions about the scope of various inquiries and about the categories used to measure changing realities. The crucial event in the history of German statistics was the switch from mere data collection in the 18th- and early-19th centuries to a greater stress on the importance of official numbers in the allocation of political power and tax revenue, a development that reflected the shifting preoccupations of complex bureaucracies with limited resources. It is not surprising, then, that population surveys and the tabulation of their results differed widely, depending on the topic or political jurisdiction. (16)

During the War of Liberation against France in the early 19th century, the Prussian government had instituted strong measures to control the movement of its population, both citizens and non-citizens alike. But in the course of the 19th century, the character of Prussian residency registration statistics was modified by state bureaucrats who were trying to balance royal assurances of free and unlimited movement within the nation and the requirements of public safety and of taxation. (17) In 1817, regulations concerning geographical mobility were recast by King Frederick William's General Edict on Travel in Prussia. (18) Foreigners were still required to obtain proper passports and visas, but permanent residents of Prussia were guaranteed the right of free and uninhibited travel without a police passport. This did not mean, however, that geographical mobility went unobserved by governmental agencies. All officials charged with maintaining public safety were required to intensify their efforts to keep under close observation certain types of individuals and classes who might endanger law and order. To make the job easier for security police, registration procedures were strengthened for certain highly mobile occupational groups and for all those traveling or visiting outside their permanent place of residency, irrespective of citizenship. In addition, even those with the right of free movement without an internal police passport had to be able to present proper identification on demand, papers that could be provided by a citizen's hometown police. Thus, the general pattern of regulatory evolution was set: The basic laws of Prussia and, later, of the German Empire, guaranteed that permanent residents could move about the nation freely and choose their domicile. But such rights and freedoms were always hedged by special administrative limitations and police oversight.

Maintaining public safety was not the only motive for keeping close watch on population movements. Fiscal officers were concerned about locating mobile taxpayers. Administrators in the central government urged revenue agents to make more strenuous efforts to keep their assessment lists accurate. For example, notices alerting local officials to the need for taxpayers to register when they moved from town to town appeared in the

Administrative Communications Bulletin of the Düsseldorf District. (19) But these admonitions for more stringent bureaucratic record keeping apparently did not have the desired effect. As a result, a series of specific administrative regulations were issued from 1832 to 1838 in an attempt to strengthen the whole system of looking after non-residents. From 1832 on, all households were obligated to report to the police the presence of non-resident guests who stayed overnight. (20) Personal information, including the purpose of the visit, was recorded. Innkeepers kept their own books on travelers and were required to forward a summary to the police by nine o'clock each morning. Non-residents who stayed longer than three days in certain large cities were required to obtain a temporary residency permit. Fines could be levied for noncompliance. Evidently, these measures did not prove to be a sufficient remedy as non-residents were still not registering properly. Innkeepers, for example, constantly complained that travelers gave false information. In spite of these problems, new requirements for formal registration were issued in 1838. (21) Each houseowner was required to inform the police when a renter moved in or out, including sub-renters and lodgers. Servants, apprentices, handworkers, and factory laborers who moved had to be registered by their employers within twenty-four hours. As might be anticipated, such measures were not without controversy.

Also of concern to the Prussian Finance Ministry was the division of tax revenues from the Zollverein based on population size. Prussian fiscal administrators believed that census methods used by the Royal Statistical Bureau to calculate the number of Prussian subjects were unreliable, thereby depriving the realm of tax money. In a series of meetings between civil servants from both agencies during the 1830s, tax officials suggested the establishment of a continuous residency register in Prussia, much like the nominal lists of taxpayers already in existence. Knowing the serious limitations of the registration procedures used to compile such information, however, the Statistical Office objected to the suggestion and the idea was dropped. Each agency did agree, however, to improve its data collection and reporting methods.

Although the Belgian census of 1846 was a powerful example of how to keep track of a total population, Quetelet's methods were not adopted. By the late 1840s, Prussian population statistics had become more accurate and comprehensive, and the separate Prussian agencies did not see any advantage in establishing a unified population registration system, one that they believed might be less accurate than the one they had evolved. Thus, population registration in Prussia remained fragmented among several agencies: Vital records continued to be kept by the churches; responsibility for periodic censuses remained with the Statistical Office; and tax lists were maintained by the Finance Ministry along with the local

police, who were also responsible for registering day-to-day population movements. These police Meldebucher were the only set of official documents in Prussia that tried to measure population changes on a continuing basis.

In 1857, during the first flush of industrial expansion that was accompanied by an acceleration of geographical mobility, the cluster of registration ordinances was revised and expanded. (22) The former regulations on non-residents (1832) and residency change (1838) were adopted without major modification. But now, non-residents or special occupational groups were not the only ones subject to registration requirements. There was a growing interest in keeping track of all new arrivals who intended to change their permanent residence. Such persons were obliged to report to the police within fourteen days of their arrival and receive a special certificate. Local officials, for their part, could recommend to the mayor whether someone should be allowed to stay. In addition, the 1857 regulations required that the personal data on new arrivals be entered in permanent registration ledger books and used to correct class tax rolls. Simplified regulations were issued in 1874, but procedures remained fundamentally the same. (23) The only change of consequence was that registration now had to occur within three days of arrival. (24)

The records required by these new registration regulations assumed different configurations in different locations. In Duisburg, for example, four different types of ledger books were kept for each year, with a few exceptions. (25) One kind of book listed family units that settled in Duisburg; another recorded their departures. Persons without a family group, even if married, registered their arrivals and departures in two other books. Each ledger contained a chronological listing of migrants, including the date of registration, name, occupation, birthplace and birthdate, last place of residence, religion, marital status, wife's and children's names (if applicable), criminal record, address, and proposed next place of residence. Occasionally, the name of a landlord, military service, place of employment, and vaccination record of children were listed. Breslau city administrators complicated the process even further by making two different offices responsible for the continuous registration of the population and each created forms for its own particular needs. (26) First, each precinct police station was required to maintain three different records: 1) A list of residents in each house (including date of arrival, name, occupation/family status, birth information, religion, place of previous residence, date of departure/death, and intended place of next residence); 2) An alphabetical register of the population (listing essentially the same information as the house lists); and 3) a list of travelers. Second, the city registration office compiled a master list of residents based upon police documents. This record included information on a resident's name, occupation/status, birth data, religion, date of arrival and address.

Only near the turn of the century, when an alphabetical registration card system for all residents past and present was inaugurated, were German registration methods altered substantially. The same basic information was recorded. But the use of registration cards facilitated the exchange of information between various branches of the city administration, including vital records office, the tax office, the criminal police, the public health office, and youth and school authorities. (27) Although this kind of record approaches the character of population registers in some other European countries, it remained incomplete because the information gathered was not exchanged in any extensive way with previous or subsequent cities of residence. (28)

Those German states that joined or were annexed to the North German Confederation in 1867 - Schleswig, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, Electoral Hesse, and Saxony - had the same governmental priorities as Prussia for revenue and public safety, concerns that shaped the introduction of residency registers. In the textile city of Chemnitz in Saxony, for example, the overriding focus of local officials was tax receipts. (29) City administrators decided to assess the most mobile occupational groups, such as unmarried journeymen and factory workers, to help balance the city budget. Thus, registration books for only a few categories of persons were kept, unlike other Saxon cities, such as Leipzig, Dresden, and Zwickau, where a unified system of registration regulations could be found. After 1876, this situation was rectified and the residency registers in Chemnitz recorded the name, occupation or status, birthplace, citizenship, year of birth, religion, address, date of naturalization, date of death, date of departure, grants of business licenses, and police matters for the entire population of the city. In Schleswig-Holstein, travelers were required to satisfy registration requirements as early as the sixteenth century. (30) It was only after Prussia assumed control of this territory in 1867 that a general registration law was issued, however. (31) Concern for taxes, public safety, and the influx of hordes of migrants were the primary motivations for these rules. Name, occupation and status, birth date, birthplace, and religion were among the personal details found in the residency registers of this region.

The Hanseatic city-state of Hamburg developed yet another kind of registration system. (32) As early as 1814, non-citizens were required to register with the police within 48 hours of their arrival. After 1834, household servants, journeymen, apprentices, and laborers who were not members of a guild had to obtain special police documents even to search for work. These regulations were extended to natives of Hamburg after 1881. When Hamburg joined the North German Confederation in 1866, freedom of movement was guaranteed by law, although the city was permitted to keep track of migration in its own way. As a result, Hamburg did not

begin comprehensive registration of in- and out-migrants and changes of address until 1892. At this time, five different alphabetical card files were established, including a list for the entire population (organized by address as well as by family name), for servants, and for those with outstanding arrest warrants. Similar developments can be noted in Hannover, Electoral Hesse, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and Bremen.(33)

In southern Germany, residency registration along the lines found in the north was not widespread until the 1880s.(34) Nevertheless, population accounting was commonplace. Community social values in this region stressed stability and familiarity and local politics was given coherence by the defense of a town's integrity against the intrusion of bureaucrats, the invasion of poor vagabonds, and the irresponsibility of the promiscuous. Preoccupied with the rights and obligations of city citizenship and with the completeness of vital records led to the creation of family registries and lists of transients in places like Bamberg, Regensburg, Stuttgart, Ulm and Würzburg in the first decades of the 19th century.(35) The Familienbogen, which were kept in the district administrative center where the family had its place of residence, contain information on the names of family members including genealogical data, birth dates and places, religion, occupation or status, address changes, purpose of residence, marriage information, names and birth dates of children, and notes regarding the dissolution of the marriage, either through death or divorce.

Even though contemporaries considered the continuous residency registers the best available guide to yearly population fluctuation and used this information when making up communal and class tax lists, there is no way at present to independently estimate the accuracy and inclusiveness of Germany's continuous residency registers. Scattered evidence exists that an unregistered floating population of unknown size slipped through the registration process, thus avoiding the grasp of the city tax collector. In the city of Duisburg, for example, the number of persons cited by the police for violation of registration regulations between 1871 and 1891 was equal to between 0. (9)% and 5. (4)% of the annual volume of registrations.(36) If it is not clear exactly how comprehensively in-migration was recorded, contemporaries were agreed that, relatively speaking, registration at the time of departure was systematically underestimated by perhaps as much as five percent.(37) In addition, it is possible that for Berlin, Hannover and other large cities, the accuracy of registration statistics was even worse. By assuming that vital records and census tabulations were accurate, the Berlin City Statistical Office calculated that 10% - 21% of the male out-migrants and 3% - 11% of female out-migrants were not included.(38) Out-migrants among the most mobile age groups were also believed to be underrepresented. Bureaucrats who compiled out-migration figures for Hanover were convinced that their data needed to be corrected in order to compensate for a 12% underregistration.(39)

II

The same history of German state administration and scholarly preoccupations that shaped the development of statistics in general and of population registers in particular has also determined the character of German archives. (40) Until the 19th century, they existed to preserve administrative and legal documents of various German states and were not generally open to the public. Gradually, portions of archival holdings were made available to scholars. But because archival functions continued to be concerned with the needs of Germany's autonomous states, decentralization was a major hurdle. Not even the enthusiasm of unification led to the creation of a centralized archive administration. The destruction of many archive collections during World War II and the division of Germany into the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD) and the German Democratic Republic (DDR) have intensified the difficulties stemming from decentralized archival organization to make research a complex and arduous task. Except for the establishment of a Federal Archive (Bundesarchiv) that houses documents of the central government, archives in the Federal Republic have followed the tradition of decentralization. Because residency registration was the responsibility of local police in the 19th century, these records will not be found in state or federal archives, but must be sought at the local level. City archives, registration offices (Meldeamt), and vital records offices (Standesamt) could each have all or part of the surviving records. (See Chart 1)

This search through various local archives is not, however, the only impediment to using continuous residency registers from the 19th century. In an effort to protect the privacy of its citizens, the Federal Republic recently enacted a law concerning data protection, known as the Bundesdatenschutzgesetz (BDSG). (41) Many provincial governments have followed suit. (42) This law asserts that all automatic data processing - whether in the private economic sphere or under the jurisdiction of federal, provincial, and local government - is prohibited, except as specifically permitted under the BDSG or when the affected person has expressly agreed. The BDSG is especially sensitive to the problems for individual privacy that arise from a comprehensive registration system. These attitudes were manifest during and reinforced by the conflict over the federal census of 1983/ 1987. (43) Although an Orwellian vision was often invoked by census opponents as a warning against governmental data collection, Germany's experience under the National Socialist dictatorship provided a far more frightening reminder of how centralized population registration could be used as a technique of social manipulation and political repression. In an attempt to guard against such abuses, the BDSG, in conjunction with subsequent court decisions and legislation, sets limits on the

transmission of personal information to other public or private agencies and requires that data no longer needed for the fulfillment of legally sanctioned government tasks or private economic pursuits must be erased. (44) In some cases that are specifically authorized by federal and state law, data can be transferred to an appropriate archive for later reference.

If no special law concerning materials held in archives is in effect, the provisions of the BDSG regulate access to nominative data, such as continuous residency registers. (45) Only if access serves the public interest or legitimate research purposes can these documents be made available. How these concepts are defined by the BDSG and by the Law Concerning Registration (Melderechtsrahmengesetz) and how federal and state regulations affect archival research is now being clarified. (46) Data Protection commissioners at both the federal and provincial levels agree that current legislation is concerned with preserving the privacy of living individuals and that access to materials concerning persons who have died is a matter for each individual archive to resolve. (47) Until the situation is further clarified, some local archives will possibly interpret these regulations strictly, believing that they have the same obligation toward 19th-century residency registers as they have with data from the present. (48) Others will undoubtedly show sensitivity to the purposes of the BDSG but will be more open to scholarly use of such older documents. This diversity is again a manifestation of the Federal Republic's decentralized administrative system and can hinder scholarly investigation.

The events of November 1989 are likely to fundamentally change the more centralized archival system that existed under the regime in the German Democratic Republic. (49) If the flexible and diverse system of archives found in the Federal Republic serves as a model, access to residency registers in archives in the east will likely be subject to the same regulation as in the west. Because city archives are likely to retain the considerable autonomy that they possessed even under the previous regime, local archives will determine access to these sources. Data protection and preservation of personal privacy are likely to be particularly sensitive issues as well.

III

Just as political shifts, economic change and social upheaval influenced the character of data collection and access to those documents, the kinds of questions asked of those data were influenced by the crucial political and cultural events in German history during the past century, including the economic and social restructuring that accompanied industrialization, defeat in World War I, economic disaster, the ascension of the Nazis, the

destruction of World War II, the division of Germany into two states, and economic reconstruction during the past 40 years. (50) In addition, migration studies during the past two decades have reflected the influence of the *Annales*, the scholarly concerns of English and East German labor historians, and biases of American quantitative approaches. (51) And *Alltagsgeschichte* is likely to make a contribution as well by melting the frozen voices of the past. The complexity of the questions confronting migration researchers demands the skills of each of these approaches and the use of all kinds of data, including published aggregate statistics, personal recollections, and nominative lists that can link the other two together.

The agenda of German migration studies is likely to revolve around five issues. (52) First, only scattered evidence on the operation of migration differentials at different times and places has been unearthed. More descriptive studies of how German geographical mobility was selective on a wide range of variables are needed. Second, the motivations of Germany's mobile masses must be analyzed in greater detail. Recent research indicates that migrants are far from perfect economic actors and that family cultural values, occupational traditions, and lore about possible destinations are crucial to understand why people move. Third, migration studies must move beyond a simple analysis of net flows to an understanding of the development of migration systems, embodying complex return and seasonal migration arrangements. This approach would require a recognition that pre-industrial migration patterns in Germany often continued into the industrial age and must be distinguished from newer trends. In addition, this approach would help determine to what degree migrants were really strangers from an alien rural culture. Fourth, the impact of migration on places of origin and destination must receive more attention. Migrants were not only problems for Germany's policy makers but they could be innovators whose arrival/departure had a profound impact on political, social, and economic life of a region. Of particular interest in this regard is the relationship of migration and the fate of cottage industry. Finally, the human consequences of migration must be more carefully delineated. The basic conclusions of Tönnies, Simmel, and Weber regarding the level of alienation and rootlessness experienced by migrants have not yet been thoroughly tested. What little has been done on this subject indicates a paradox of individual stability in the context of massive population movement. If borne out through further study, this finding has potentially a great significance for the analysis of industrial labor force formation and collective protest.

German residency registers have been and will continue to be used in a variety of ways to develop important insights into migration and its contribution to the development of an urban-industrial world. Because manuscript census data for the 19th century has not survived in central Eu-

rope except in limited areas, these registers will continue to provide a fundamental source for historical analysis, especially when linked with other documents such as employment records, marriage contracts, and vital records. Although some critics of social history have expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction with and distaste for statistical approaches to understanding the lives of ordinary Germans, these avenues of analysis that are based in part on residency registers will continue to be explored by scholars who believe that historical demography is fundamental for a complete understanding of the material bases of life. (53) Continuous residency registers present a unique opportunity to define more accurately the character and quality of German life during a period of fundamental social changes and to understand the degree to which ordinary people were able to actively shape their own destinies.

Notes

- (1) I would like to thank Steve Hochstadt and Walter Kamphoefner for their comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this article. Without the extensive help by the staffs of the following offices, libraries and archives, this analysis would not have been possible: the Federal Commissioner for Data Protection (Bonn), the Data Protection Commissioners for the states of Baden-Württemberg, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Pfalz, Rhineland-Westphalia, the Saarland, and Schleswig-Holstein, the Ryan Library (Point Lorna College), Badische Landesbibliothek (Karlsruhe), Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Stuttgart), Hessische Landesbibliothek (Fulda), Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (Hannover), Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel, Sächsische Landesbibliothek (Dresden), Universitätsbibliothek der Universität des Saarlandes (Saarbrücken), Deutsche Bibliothek (Frankfurt/Main), Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek (Kiel), Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Göttingen), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Berlin - Ost), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin - West), Statistisches Landesamt Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart), Bibliothek des Statistischen Bundesamtes and the archives of Aachen, Bamberg, Berlin, Bielefeld, Bochum, Braunschweig, Bremerhaven, Castrop-Rauxel, Darmstadt, Dortmund, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Erfurt, Essen, Esslingen, Frankfurt/Main, Freiburg i. B., Gelsenkirchen, Halle/S., Hamburg, Hannover, Herne, Kaiserslautern, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Karlsruhe, Kassel, Kiel, Köln, Krefeld, Leipzig, Ludwigshafen, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Mainz, Mannheim, Mülheim/Ruhr, München, Nürnberg, Potsdam, Regens-

burg, Rostock, Saarbrücken, Solingen, Stuttgart, Trier, Ulm, Wanne-Eickel, Wiesbaden, Würzburg, and Wuppertal.

- (2) These shifting emphases are reflected in contrasts between the essay by James J. Sheehan, »Quantification in the Study of Modern German Social and Political History,« in Val R. Lowin and Jacob M. Price (eds.), *The Dimensions of the Past: Materials, Problems, and Opportunities for Quantitative Work in History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), the scope of the essays collected by Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1973), and the overview of the field in Wolfgang Schieder and Volker Sellin (eds.), *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven im internationalen Zusammenhang*, 4 volumes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986/7). Also see Jürgen Kocka, »Theory and Social History: Recent Developments in West Germany,« *Social Research* 47(1980): 426-457.
- (3) For surveys of this controversy and examples of Alltagsgeschichte, see Peter Borscheid and Hans J. Teuteberg (eds.), *Ehe, Liebe, Tod* (Münster: F. Coppenrath, 1983); Richard van Dülmen (ed.), *Kultur der einfachen Leute* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983); Klaus Tenfelde, »Schwierigkeiten mit dem Alltag,« *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10 (1984): 376-394; Hubert Ch. Ehalt (ed.), *Geschichte von unten* (Vienna: Hermann Bülow, 1984); Hans Medick, »'Missionaries in the Row Boat'? Ethnological Ways of Knowing as a Challenge to Social History,« *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(1987): 76-98, published earlier in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10(1984): 295-319; Franz J. Brüggemeier and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), »Geschichte von unten - Geschichte von innen.« *Kontroversen um die Alltagsgeschichte, Kurseinheit 1* (Hagen: Fernuniversität-Gesamthochschule Hagen, 1985); Hannes Heer and Volker Ullrich (eds.), *Geschichte entdecken* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1985); and Gerhard Paul and Bernhard Schlossig (eds.), *Die andere Geschichte* (Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1986); Jürgen Kocka, »Sozialgeschichte zwischen Strukturgeschichte und Erfahrungsgeschichte,« in Wolfgang Schieder and Volker Sellin (eds.), *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland, Vol. 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986); Peter Borscheid, »Alltagsgeschichte - Modetorheit oder neues Tor zur Vergangenheit?« in Schieder and Sellin, *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland, Vol. 3* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987); Roger Fletcher, »History from Below Comes to Germany: The New History Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany,« *The Journal of Modern History* 60(1988): 557-568. Of course, »peoples* history« is not the exclusive purview of German historians nor of the history professionals. For a discussion of this History Workshop movement in Great Britain, see

- Roderick Floud, »Quantitative History and People's History: Two Methods in Conflict?« *Social Science History* 8 (1984), 151-8. For an overview of the sociological analysis of ordinary events, see Patricia A. Alder, Peter Alder, and Andrea Fontana, »Everyday Life Sociology,« *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987), 217-235.
- (4) Steve Hochstadt, »Migration in Preindustrial Germany«, *Central European History* 16(1983): 195-224; Mack Walker, *German Home Towns. Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871* (Ithica, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971).
 - (5) Wolfgang Köllmann, »Bevölkerungsgeschichte 1800-1970,« in Hermann Aubin and Wolfgang Zorn (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert Vol. 2* (Stuttgart: Klett Verlag, 1976); Steve Hochstadt, »Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815-1977,« *Social Science History* 5(1981): 445-468; Peter Marschalck, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1984).
 - (6) Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage. Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Auswanderer - Wanderarbeiter - Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1984); Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th- and 20th-century Germany* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987).
 - (7) Elisabeth Pfeil, *Großstadtforschung. Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Stand* (Hanover: Gebrüder Jänecke Verlag, 1972); Andrew Lees and Lynn Lees (eds.), *The Urbanization of European Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1976); Brian J. L. Berry, *Comparative Urbanization. Divergent Paths in the Twentieth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); Claude S. Fischer, *The Urban Experience* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Peter Saunders, *Social Theory and the Urban Question* (New York: Holmes & Meyer Publishers, Inc., 1986).
 - (8) See, for example, Wolfgang Köllmann, *Bevölkerung in der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974); Dieter Lange wiesche, »Wanderungsbewegungen in der Hochindustrialisierungsperiode. Regionale, interstädtische und innerstädtische Mobilität in Deutschland 1880-1914,« *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 64(1977): 1-40; Stephan Bleek, »Mobilität und Seßhaftigkeit in deutschen Großstädten während der Urbanisierung,« *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 15(1989): 1-33.
 - (9) Hsi-Huey Liang, »Lower-Class Immigrants in Wilhelmine Berlin,« *Central European History* 3(1970): 94-111.

- (10) Goeff Eley, »Labor History, Social History, Alltagsgeschichte: Experience, Culture, and the Politics of Everyday - a New Direction for German Social History,« *The Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989), 297-343.
- (11) Hugo Klinkmüller, *Die amtliche Statistik Preußens im vorigen Jahrhundert* (Jena 1880); Adolf Günter, »Geschichte der deutschen Statistik,« in F. Zahn (ed.), *Die Statistik in Deutschland nach ihrem heutigen Stand*, Vol. I (Munich: J. Schweitzer Verlag [Arthur Sellier], 1911), 1-65; Eugene Würzburger, »The History and Development of Official Statistics in the German Empire,« in John Koren (ed.), *The History of Statistics. Their Development and Progress in Many Countries* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), 333-362; Johannes Müller, *Theorie und Technik der Statistik* (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1927); Anthony Oberschall, *Empirical Social Research in Germany, 1848-1914* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1965)
- (12) This alliance of academicians and civil servants in support of statistical surveys proved to be enduring and culminated in the founding of the Verein für Sozialpolitik. See Franz Boese, *Geschichte des Vereins für Sozialpolitik 1872-1932* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1939), Gerhard Wittrock, *Die Kathedersozialisten bis zur Eisenacher Versammlung 1872* (Berlin: Ebering, 1939), and Irmela Gorges, *Sozialforschung in Deutschland 1872-1914. Gesellschaftliche Einflüsse auf Themen- und Methodenvwahl des Vereins für Sozialpolitik* (Königstein/Th.: Anton Hain, 1980).
- (13) Herwig Birg (ed.), *Ursprünge der Demographie in Deutschland: Leben und Werk Johann Peter Süssmilchs (1707-1767)* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1986).
- (14) Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou essai de physique sociale* (Paris: Bachelier, 1835) [*m* German, 1838; in English, 1842] and *Du système sociale et des lois qui le régissent* (Paris: Guillaumin et Co., 1848).
- (15) Karl Seutemann, »Die Stadtestatistik,« in Robert Wuttke (ed.), *Die Deutschen Städte*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: F. Brandstetter, 1904), 864-892; H. Bleicher, »Über die Notwendigkeit systematischer Arbeitsteilung auf dem Gebiet der Bevölkerungs-(Sozial-) Statistik,« *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* 5,1 (1898/99): 2337; 6,1 (1902/04): 44-57; 6,2 (1902/04): 103-109; 7,1 (1907/14): 109-130.
- (16) Johannes Müller, *Deutsche Bevölkerungsstatistik. Ein Grundriß für Studium und Praxis* (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1926).
- (17) August Meitzen, »Das polizeiliche Meldewesen in Preussen,« *Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus* 14(1874): 81-92; von Müller, »Meldewesen,« in Bill Drews and Franz Hoffmann (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der Preussischen Verwaltung*, 3rd Edition, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928).

- (18) Prussia, *Gesetzsammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten* 1817 (Berlin: Königlicher Geheimer Oberhofbuchdrucker, 1817), 152-160.
- (19) Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: J. C. Danzer'schen Buchdruckerei, 1822), 261.
- (20) Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: J. C. Danzer'schen Buchdruckerei, 1835), 250-251.
- (21) Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: J. C. Danzer'schen Buchdruckerei, 1838), 54. Because of some judicial doubt about the formal validity of these regulations, they were reissued in 1852. See Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: Buchdruckerei Hermann Voss, 1852), 77-80. This time, their legitimacy was based upon the new law of 1850 governing police administration.
- (22) Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: Buchdruckerei Hermann Voss, 1857), 520-523.
- (23) Bureau der Königlichen Regierung zu Düsseldorf, *Amtsblatt der Regierung zu Düsseldorf* (Düsseldorf: Buchdruckerei Hermann Voss, 1874), 129.
- (24) Waldemar Erdmann (ed.), *Die Praxis der Polizei-Verwaltung. Ein Handbuch für die Polizei- und Gemeinde-Verwaltung der ganzen Preußischen Monarchie* (Berlin: J. J. Heines Verlag, 1892), 527-535; Walther von Hippel, *Handbuch der Polizei-Verwaltung* (Berlin: F. Vahlen, 1905), 170-183; Gustav Roscher, *Groß Stadtpolizei. Ein praktisches Handbuch der deutschen Polizei* (Hamburg: Otto Meissners Verlag, 1912), 84-92.
- (25) Gisela Simon, *Familienkundliche Quellen im Stadtarchiv Duisburg* (Neustadt/Aisch: Verlag Degener und Co., 1960).
- (26) Statistisches Amt, Breslau, »Die Einwohner-Verzeichnisse,« *Breslauer Statistik* 1(1877): 364-373.
- (27) Roscher, *Großstadtpolizei*, 91; Ferdinand Treptow, *Städtische Melde- und Wahlämter* (Berlin: Verlag von Franz Vahlen, 1922).
- (28) The registration documents for Bielefeld, Krefeld, Saarbrücken, St. Johann, Malstaat-Burbach, Essen, and Castrop-Rauxel have a similar content to those found in Duisburg and Breslau. The residency register in Solingen contains much of the same details but is organized by street and house number.
- (29) Ernst Hofmann, *Das Meldewesen der Stadt Chemnitz im Kapitalismus* (Karl-Marx-Stadt: Stadtarchiv Karl-Marx-Stadt, 1980), 14.

- (30) Lars Hennings, »Kirchenbücher als Quellen zur historischen Wanderungsforschungen in Schleswig-Holstein mit Hinweisen auf Standes- und Melderegister,« in Jürgen Brockstedt (ed.), Regionale Mobilität in Schleswig-Holstein 1600-1900 (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1979), 217.
- (31) All towns in Schleswig-Holstein did not follow this pattern, however. Altona, for example, required registration of new arrivals from 1808 onward. See Hennings, »Kirchenbücher als Quellen,« 218.
- (32) Stadtarchiv Hamburg, »Vorbemerkung zum Meldewesen,« unpublished memo, 1981.
- (33) For Hannover, see B. A. Grotefend, Handbuch für die Polizeiverwaltung und Strafrechtspflege in der Provinz Hannover (Hannover: Klindworth's Verlag, 1874); for Electoral Hesse, see Wilhelm Möller and C. Fuchs(eds.), Sammlung der in vormaligen Kurfürstenthume Hessen nach geltenden gesetzlichen Bestimmungen von 1813 bis 1866 (Marburg: N. G. Wlwert'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1867), 458-467, 1046-1051, Ludwig Bödicker, Die allgemeinen polizeilichen Anordnungen für den Stadtkreis Cassel, in Verbindung mit den Uebertretungen des Strafgesetzbuchs und anderen einschlagenden gesetzlichen Vorschriften (Cassel: Druck und Verlag des reformirten Waisenhauses, 1871), and F. W. Seelig, Die seit 1867 für den Regierungsbezirk Cassel erlassenen Polizei-Verordnungen (Cassel: Druck und Verlag der Hof- und Waisenhaus- Buchdruckerei, 1876), 116-117; for the Grand Duchy of Hesse, see Friedrich Kühler, Die Verwaltungsgesetzgebung in Grossherzogthum Hessen (Darmstadt: G. Jonghaus'sche Hofbuchhandlung, Verlag, 1875), 317-319, and Wilhelm Zeller, Handbuch der Verfassung und Verwaltung im Grossherzogthum Hessen, Vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Verlag von Arnold Bergstrasser, 1885), 211-212; for Bremen, see Bremische Bürgerschaft (Landtag), »Gesetz über das Meldewesen (Meldegesetz),« Mitteilungen und Antworten des Senats Nr. 48 (Bremen: Bremische Bürgerschaft, 1960), 1.
- (34) Gerhard Schauffler, Das Einwohnermeldewesen in Württemberg mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stuttgarter Verhältnisse (Tübingen: Laupp'sche Buchhandlung, 1912), 4-12; Württemberg, Regierungs-Blatt für das Königreich Württemberg (1872), 275-276, 460; Württemberg, Regierungs-Blatt für das Königreich Württemberg (1901), 115-118; Ministry of the Interior, Baden, Gesetzes- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Grossherzogthum Baden (1883), 125-132; Ministry of the Interior, Baden, Gesetzes- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Grossherzogthum Baden (1891), 239-242; Ministry of the Interior, Baden, Gesetzes- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Grossherzogthum Baden (1908), 21-22.
- (35) Württemberg, Staats- und Regierungs-Blatt, Beilage Nr. IV (1807), 577-578; Hans J. Wolff and Otto Bachof, Verwaltungsrecht III. Ein

- Studienbuch (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), 268-269; Mack Walker, *German Home Towns. Community, State and General Estate 1648-1871* (Ithica, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971).
- (36) James H. Jackson, Jr., *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1850-1900* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1980, Table A-1).
- (37) Fritz Meyer, »German Internal Migration Statistics: Methods, Sources, and Data,« in Dorothy S. Thomas (ed.), *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, Bulletin 43 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938), 358-365.
- (38) Statistisches Amt, Berlin, *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin* 19 (1891/1892): 83-84; 23 (1895/1896): 128-131; 26 (1898/1899): 188-189.
- (39) *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Hannover* 1(1914): 15.
- (40) Erwin K. Welsch, *Libraries and Archives in Germany* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: The Council for European Studies, 1975).
- (41) Germany, Federal Republic. Bundestag, *Bundesgesetzblatt*, Teil I, Nr. 7 (1977): 201-214, Nr. 53 (1977): 1477, Nr. 92 (1977): 3153, Nr. 8(1978): 250; Germany, Federal Republic. Der Bundesbeauftragte für den Datenschutz, *Der Bürger und seine Daten. Eine Information zum Datenschutz* (Bonn: Der Bundesbeauftragte für den Datenschutz, 1980); Joachim Hertel (ed.), *Bürgerfibel Datenschutz* (Bonn: Bundesbeauftragte für den Datenschutz, 1981); Germany, Federal Republic. Press- and Information Office, »Data Protection in the Federal Republic of Germany,« Bulletin 1(1980).
- (42) See, for example, *Hessischer Datenschutzbeauftragte, Hessisches Datenschutzgesetz* (Wiesbaden: Wiesbadener Graphische Betriebe, 1987); Germany, Lower Saxony. *Niedersächsisches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt* Nr. 30(1978): 421-428; *Landesbeauftragte für den Datenschutz des Landes Schleswig-Holstein, Datenschutz in Schleswig-Holstein. Dienst am Bürger* (Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1984), 22-37.
- (43) For examples of anti-census sentiment, see Taubenschlag. *Zeitschrift der Duisburger Friedensinitiativen* 2:5(1983): 26-32 and Hoimar von Dörfurth, »Warum ich nicht gezahlt zu werden wünsche. Plädoyer wider die Volkszählung,« *Der Spiegel* 21 (May 18, 1987), 34-39. For a survey of current events surrounding the census, see »Als sei es des Teufels eigenes Werk,« *Der Spiegel* 21 (May 18, 1987), 24-32. For a view of the census debate from the perspective of the Hesse Commissioner for Data Protection, see Spiros Simitis, *Zwölfter Tätigkeitsbericht des Hessischen Datenschutzbeauftragten* (Darmstadt: Heinrich Anthes, Buchdruckerei, 1983), 7-25, 151-185 and *Vierzehnter Tätigkeitsbericht des Hessischen Datenschutzbeauftragten* (Darmstadt:

- Heinrich Anthes, Burchdruckerei, 1985), 80-85, 185-187. The influential decision of the Federal Constitutional Court can be found in: Germany, Federal Republic. Bundesverfassungsgericht. »Das Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vom 15. Dezember 1983 zum Volkszählungsgesetz 1983,« Beilage zum Bundesanzeiger, Nr. 241 (24 December 1983). The Parliament of the BRD authorized a new census in: Germany, Federal Republic. Bundestag. »Gesetz über eine Volks-, Berufs-, Gebäude-, Wohnungs-, und Arbeitsstättenzählung,« Bundesgesetzblatt 1(1987): 2078.
- (44) For an overview of the present course of data protection legislation in the Federal Republic, see Klaus Tebarth, Achter Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Niedersächsischen Datenschutzbeauftragten, Niedersächsischer Landtag, Drucksache 11/740(6 February 1987), 9-13; and Spiros Simitis, »Zur Datenschutzgesetzgebung: Vorgaben und Perspektiven,« CR 9(1987): 602-613.
- (45) Germany, Federal Republic. Office of the Federal Commissioner for Data Protection, Letter to Author (IV-192 521 II), 21 October 1982.
- (46) Germany, Federal Republic. Bundestag, Bundesgesetzblatt, Teil I, Nr. 50(1980): 1429-1436. See, for example the procedures outlined by Der Berliner Datenschutzbeauftragte, Forschung und Planung. Checklist zum Datenschutz, 2nd Edition (Berlin: Der Berliner Datenschutzbeauftragte, 1987) and by the Datenschutzkommission Rheinland-Pfalz, Datenschutzrechtliche Anforderungen an wissenschaftliche Forschungsvorhaben, Heft 3: Informationen zum Datenschutz in Rheinland-Pfalz (Mainz: Druckerei des Landtags, 1987). Archive laws have been enacted by several states and are pending in others. See, for example, Germany, Federal Republic. Bundestag, »Entwurf eines Gesetzes über die Sicherung und Nutzung von Archivgut des Bundes (Bundesarchivgesetz - BArchivG),« Drucksache 11/498 (19 June 1987); Baden- Württemberg. Landtag. »Gesetz über die Pflege und Nutzung von Archivgut,« Gesetzblatt, Nr. 10(1987): 230-233; Rheinland-Pfalz. Landtag. »Benutzungsordnung für die Landesarchive,« Staatsanzeiger für Rheinland-Pfalz, Nr. 13(1979): 255-256. Also see the discussion by Menzel, »Landesarchivgesetz,« 5. Tätigkeitsbericht des Hamburgischen Datenschutzbeauftragten (1986): 49-50 and Ernst-Eugen Becker, 5. Tätigkeitsbericht des Landesbeauftragten für den Datenschutz des Landes Schleswig-Holstein (1982): 30ff, Spiros Simitis, Zehnter Tätigkeitsbericht des Hessischen Datenschutzbeauftragten (Darmstadt: Heinrich Anthes, Buchdruckerei, 1981), 33-41, and Becker, 8. Tätigkeitsbericht des Landesbeauftragten für den Datenschutz des Landes Schleswig-Holstein (1985): 14 for suggestions concerning special archive laws that protect the interests of scholars and respect the privacy of individual citizens. A fuller discussion of

- these issues can be found in Tebarth, 8. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Niedersächsischen Datenschutzbeauftragten, 50-54.
- (47) Letters from Menzel/Hamburg (20 November 1987), Klaus Tebarth/Lower Saxony (17 November 1987), Globig/Rhineland-Pfalz (29 October 1987), and Ernst-Eugen Becker/Schleswig-Holstein (9 November 1987).
- (48) Correspondence with the archives of Aachen, Bamberg, Berlin, Bielefeld, Bochum, Braunschweig, Bremerhaven, Castrop-Rauxel, Darmstadt, Dortmund, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Erfurt, Essen, Esslingen, Frankfurt/Main, Freiburg i. B., Gelsenkirchen, Halle/S., Hamburg, Hannover, Herne, Kaiserslautern, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Karlsruhe, Kassel, Kiel, Köln, Krefeld, Leipzig, Ludwigshafen, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Mainz, Mannheim, Mülheim/Ruhr, München, Nürnberg, Potsdam, Regensburg, Rostock, Saarbrücken, Solingen, Stuttgart, Trier, Ulm, Wanne-Eickel, Wiesbaden, Würzburg, and Wuppertal.
- (49) Gordon R. Mork, »The Archives of the German Democratic Republics Central European History 2(1969): 273-284.
- (50) Rudolf Heberle, »Appendix B1: German Approaches to Internal Migration,« and »Appendix B2: Annotated Bibliography of German Contributions,« in Dorothy Swaine Thomas (ed.), Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938); Fritz Ringer, The Decline of the German Mandarins. The German Academic Community, 1890-1940 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969); Anthony Oberschall, »Introduction: The Sociological Study of the History of Social Research,« in Anthony Oberschall (ed.), The Establishment of Empirical Sociology: Studies in Continuity, Discontinuity, and Institutionalization (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972), 9-12; W. D. Smith, »The Emergence of German Urban Sociology, 1900-1910,« Journal of the History of Sociology 2(1979): 116-137; contributions to a 1982 conference on the theme, »Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?« by Klaus J. Bade (»Einführung«), Günter Schiller, Friedrich Heckmann, Knuth Dohse, Michael Wollen schlager, Dieter Mertens, and Wolfgang Klauder in Klaus J. Bade (ed.), Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Ostfildern: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1984); Andrew Lees, Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and Klaus J. Bade, »Introduction: Population, Labour, Migration. Historical Studies and Issues of Current Debate« and Hermann Körte, »Guestworker Question or Immigration Issue? Social Sciences and Public Debate in the Federal

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- (51) David Sabeau, »Household Formation and ~~Geographical Mobility~~: A Family Register Study for a Württemberg Village 1760 - 1900«, *Annales de démographie historique* (1970): 275-294; David F. Crew, *Town in the Ruhr. A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Helmut Brauer, *Gesellenmigration in der Zeit der industriellen Revolution* (Karl-Marx-Stadt: Stadtarchiv Karl-Marx-Stadt, 1982); James H. Jackson, Jr., »Migration in Duisburg, 1867-1890: Occupational and Familial Contexts,« *Journal of Urban History* 8(1982): 235 - 270; Richard C. Murphy, *Guest-workers in the German Reich: A Polish Community in Wilhelmian Germany* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1983); Friedrich Lenger, *Zwischen Kleinbürgertum und Proletariat. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Düsseldorfer Handwerker 1816-1878* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986).
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Chart 1

Location of Population Residency Registers
from the Nineteenth Century,
for Selected German Cities

PROVINCE and CITY	TYPE OF DOCUMENT	DATES COVERED	LOCATION OF DOCUMENTS
PRUSSIA			
Bielefeld		1823-1886	Stadtarchiv [^]
Boitrop	Melderegister	1850-1901	Stadtarchiv
Castrop-Rauxel	Meldekartei ?		Stadtmeldeamt
Duisburg	Anmelderegister	1857-1894	Stadtarchiv
	Abmelderegister	1857-1894, 1908	
Essen	Anmelderegister	1857-1883, 1896	Stadtarchiv
		1899, 1904, 1909	
	Abmelderegister	1882, 1890-1893, 1895-1900, 1904	
	Ummelderegister	1903, 1905	
Krefeld	Melderegister	1870-1900	Stadtarchiv
	Meldekartei	1900-1930	
Malstaat-Burbach	Familien-An- und	1857-1901	Stadtarchiv Saar- brücken
	Abmelderegister		
Saarbrücken	Einwohnerregister	1867-1902	Stadtarchiv
Solingen	Bürgerrollen	1846-1930	Stadtarchiv
St. Johann	Anmelderegister	1870-1890	Stadtarchiv Saar- brücken
	Abzugsregister	1874-1890	
	Ausländerregister	1887-1890	
BAVARIA			
Bamberg	Familienbogen		Stadtarchiv
	Einwohnerkartei ?	-ca.1935	
	Melde- und Aufent- haltsregister	1844-1868, 1881- 1893, 1902-1938	
Kaiserslautern	Melderegister	1839, 1872-1917	Stadtarchiv [^]
Munich	Polizeimeldebogen		Stadtarchiv [^]
Regensburg	Familienbogen	1810-?	Stadtarchiv
	Meldekartei		
Würzburg	Familienbogen		Stadtarchiv
BADEN			
Freiburg i.B.	Meldekartei		Stadtarchiv
Mannheim	Familienbogen	1807-1900	Stadtarchiv
	Meldekartei	1901 - ca. 1959	
WÜRTTEMBERG			
Stuttgart	Familienregister		Standesamt
Ulm	Personenregister	1900-1914	Stadtarchiv

	Personalbogen	1882-1910	
SAXONY			
Chemnitz	Meldebücher	ca. 1820-1876	Stadtarchiv [^]
	Personenregister	1876-1926 [^]	
OTHER AREAS			
Braunschweig	Meldebücher	1872-1891	Stadtarchiv
	Meldekartei	1892-1928	
Bremerhaven	Melde- und Ein-	1850-1910	Stadtarchiv [^]
Darm Stadt	Melderegister	1815-1930	Stadtarchiv [^]
Erfurt	Einwohnermelde-	1859-1872	Stadtarchiv
	register		
Frankfurt/Main	Einwohnermelde-	1870-1914	Stadtarchiv
	kartei		
Hamburg	Einwohnermelde-	1892 - ?	Stadtarchiv for
	kartei		Altona, Wandsbek
			and Harburg only
Hannover	Einwohnermelde		Stadtarchiv [^]
	kartei		
Kassel	Einwohnermelde-	1868-1914	Stadtarchiv
	kartei		
Kiel	Melderegister-	ca. 1895 - ?	Einwohnermeldeamt
	kartei		
Lübeck	Meldekartei	1884-?	Ordnungsamt
Rostock	Meldeunterlagen	ca. 1819-1903	Stadtarchiv

ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

- 1) To be filmed by the Genealogical Society (Salt Lake City)
- 2) Genealogical Society
- 3) Some records from suburban towns; some records war damaged
- 4) Early records contain only selected types of residents
- 5) Records of many suburban towns also
- 6) Also records of many Einwohnerbücher suburban towns
- 7) Some war damage
- 8) Records damage due to flooding

NOTE:

The following cities reported total loss of residency registration records due to war damage: Berlin, Bochum, Cologne, Dortmund, Esslingen, Halle/Saale, Herne, Karlsruhe, Ludwigshafen am Rhein, Magdeburg, Mainz, Nuremberg, Potsdam, Wiesbaden